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19 June 1990

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USSR:

Gorbachev Opens Russian Party Conference Today

The Russian Communist Party conference, which is scheduled to found a separate Russian Republic party organization and elect its leadership this week, will be a test of President Gorbachev's ability to shape the CPSU at next month's national party congress.

Some 3,000 delegates will attend the Russian conference, which Soviet officials say will meet for three or four days then break to resume after the CPSU congress. Party secretary Girenko told the press yesterday that the delegates will consider transforming the conference into a "congress" with statutory power to establish a separate Russian party leadership. Until recently, Gorbachev strongly opposed the creation of a separate party, fearing it would over time pose a threat to the primacy of the CPSU.

Assuming the Russian conference decides to move ahead, the delegates will then elect a first secretary from a slate that may include party secretary Yuriy Manayenkov—a Gorbachev ally—Minister for Internal Affairs Vadim Bakatin, and Premier Ryzhkov. [redacted] traditionalist Krasnodar party chief Polozkov, who last month gave Boris Yel'tsin a run for the Russian Republic leadership, will also join the race.

In his opening address, Gorbachev is expected to lay out a revised CPSU platform that now includes some planks of the party's reform group, the Democratic Platform (DP). Although they make up less than 5 percent of the delegates, supporters of the DP say they will try to turn the Russian party into a Western-style one. Party apparatchiks—a majority of conference delegates—reportedly will be divided. Some will back Gorbachev's proposals; others probably will rally around a traditionalist platform drafted by hardliners in Leningrad.

Comment: The conference will test Gorbachev's ability to consolidate support for his compromise approach to party reform, which is certain to provoke biting criticism from the delegates. This meeting, moreover, will be regarded by all sides as a dry run of the national party congress next month. An endorsement of Gorbachev's choice to head the Russian party and of his party platform would significantly strengthen his hand. A strong showing by the hardliners might force Gorbachev to choose between tacking in their direction or pushing for their purge at the congress.

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19 June 1990

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Anticipated Moves on "Internal" Aspects of German Unity

21 June

Final West German Bundestag (lower house) approval of German Economic and Monetary Union (GEMU).

First reading of bill to restore *laender* (state) structure in East German legislature.

22 June

Final West German Bundesrat (upper house) approval of GEMU.

2 July

GEMU to take effect.

Early July

Talks to occur between Bonn and East Berlin on terms for a state treaty on Article 23.

31 July

Decision on final East German state boundaries.

Late summer

CDU-East plan for "declaration" of accession to West Germany under Article 23.

Early September

East Germany's final passage of *laender* reconstitution bill.

23 September

Date proposed by CDU-East for state elections.

September-December

Basic Law to come into force in East Germany following agreement on a state treaty covering accession; it will take into consideration progress in the two-plus-four talks.

December

All-German election probable.

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GERMANYS:

Next Steps Toward Unity

East and West German leaders are continuing to push for a fast but orderly process of unification, mindful that events might force a change in the timetable.

The special "unity day" session on Sunday of the East German legislature officially placed on its agenda accession to West Germany under Article 23 of the West German Basic Law. It stopped short of calling for immediate accession, however, and sent the issue to committee. East German Prime Minister de Maiziere, supported by his parliamentary group, argued that the restoration of the prewar East German states, an intra-German treaty on terms of accession, and agreement on the external aspects of unity must precede a binding decision to join West Germany.

Yesterday, West German Christian Democratic and Free Democratic party leaders met to discuss forming all-German parties with their East German counterparts. The mergers will occur at party congresses in September and October, according to press reports.

Comment: German politicians are moving aggressively toward economic and political unity. The treaty providing for monetary union on 2 July is likely to be ratified on Thursday, and the East Germans this week will begin work to restore the five traditional states (*laender*). The East German Social Democrats have not yet accepted the accelerated timetable for unity, but their decision to put Article 23 on the legislative agenda suggests they will agree to accession by the end of the year. Progress in the two-plus-four talks, which are to resume Friday, would facilitate early acceptance by the Social Democrats.

Several factors could produce a faster rush toward unity. Higher unemployment in East Germany after economic union might spur renewed emigration and prompt East Berlin to push for immediate accession. Both Germanys also might move more quickly if they believed a hardline backlash was imminent in the USSR.

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POLAND:

Solidarity Factions Jockeying

The growing rivalry between Prime Minister Mazowiecki and union chief Lech Walesa is hastening the splintering of Solidarity and may affect whether Poland eventually adopts a presidential or parliamentary style of government.

Mazowiecki met Sunday with delegates from regional "Citizens Committees," which were instrumental in Solidarity's success in recent local elections. He endorsed efforts to use the committees as the basis for an "Alliance for Democracy" to build support for his reforms. Walesa sent a message opposing use of the committees to back individuals.

Leaders of the "Center Accord," a group created by aides to Walesa, met with Solidarity officials in several cities to seek support for making Walesa president immediately. The newspaper Walesa controls is insinuating that left-of-center Solidarity figures made secret deals with the Communists as part of the Roundtable accord that led to legislative elections and the creation of the Mazowiecki government last year.

Comment: Walesa's frustrations at being removed from the center of power and the ambitions of his key advisers continue to drive efforts to place him in the presidency, despite warnings he risks destabilizing the government and undermining Western aid and investment. Discrediting the Roundtable process might backfire on Walesa, who headed the Solidarity team in the many closed-door sessions with officials of the old regime.

Walesa's motives are not solely personal: the disappointing turnout at the local elections and recent strikes by rail workers and dairy farmers have heightened his fears that the tough economic reforms are encouraging public withdrawal from politics and increasing the risk of serious unrest. Walesa has joined leaders of many nascent political parties in calling for greater pluralism.

Also at issue is the government structure to be established in the constitution that is to be adopted by next spring. Walesa's team wants to concentrate power in the presidency; Alliance for Democracy supporters prefer a strong parliamentary system. If a compromise is not reached, fears of Walesa's authoritarian bent may lead to a coalescing around Mazowiecki of Solidarity activists who would otherwise divide along moderate left- and right-of-center lines.

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Afghan Refugee Aid Programs Under Fire

Recent violence against private volunteer and international relief organizations is threatening relief assistance to Afghanistan. In addition to the xenophobia and concerns that Afghan and Muslim values are being violated, the hostility probably reflects the refugees' frustration over the continuing political and military deadlock. It illustrates the refugees concerns that rations and Western aid will be cut further and that the UN plans to force them to return home.

- Several activities in Peshawar and in Afghanistan run by humanitarian aid organizations, including Shelter Now International, the International Medical Corps, and the Austrian Relief Committee have been attacked in the past two months.
- A campaign in Peshawar against women's programs forced several organizations to close schools for women temporarily and to suspend related projects.
- ACBAR, a coordinating body for 59 private volunteer organizations, announced recently that, unless the hostile acts stop, its members will reevaluate their role in providing assistance to the Afghan refugees.

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AFGHANISTAN: Insurgent Infighting on Rise in Pakistan

Violence is rising in the Afghan refugee camps around Peshawar as traditionalist and Islamic fundamentalist groups in the resistance vie for power.

Haji Daud, head of the Afghan Media Resource Center in Peshawar and a traditionalist, blames radical elements of the four Islamist resistance parties of Burhanuddin Rabbani, Yunis Khalis, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf, and Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, as well as groups supported by the Saudis. Afghan Interim Government (AIG) President Mojadedi, another traditionalist, has singled out Gulbuddin as behind the recent troubles in the camps.

The Islamists blame the violence in part on aid programs that they say violate traditional Afghan and Muslim values. Abdul Haq, an Islamist who heads the AIG's nascent police force, reportedly believes the recent turmoil in the camps has been spontaneous and reflective of the growing xenophobia of the Afghan people.

both traditionalist and fundamentalist resistance groups have targeted refugee assistance programs.

Comment: The political and military balance among resistance groups is shifting in favor of the Islamist groups, and anti-Western slogans are increasingly important rallying cries.

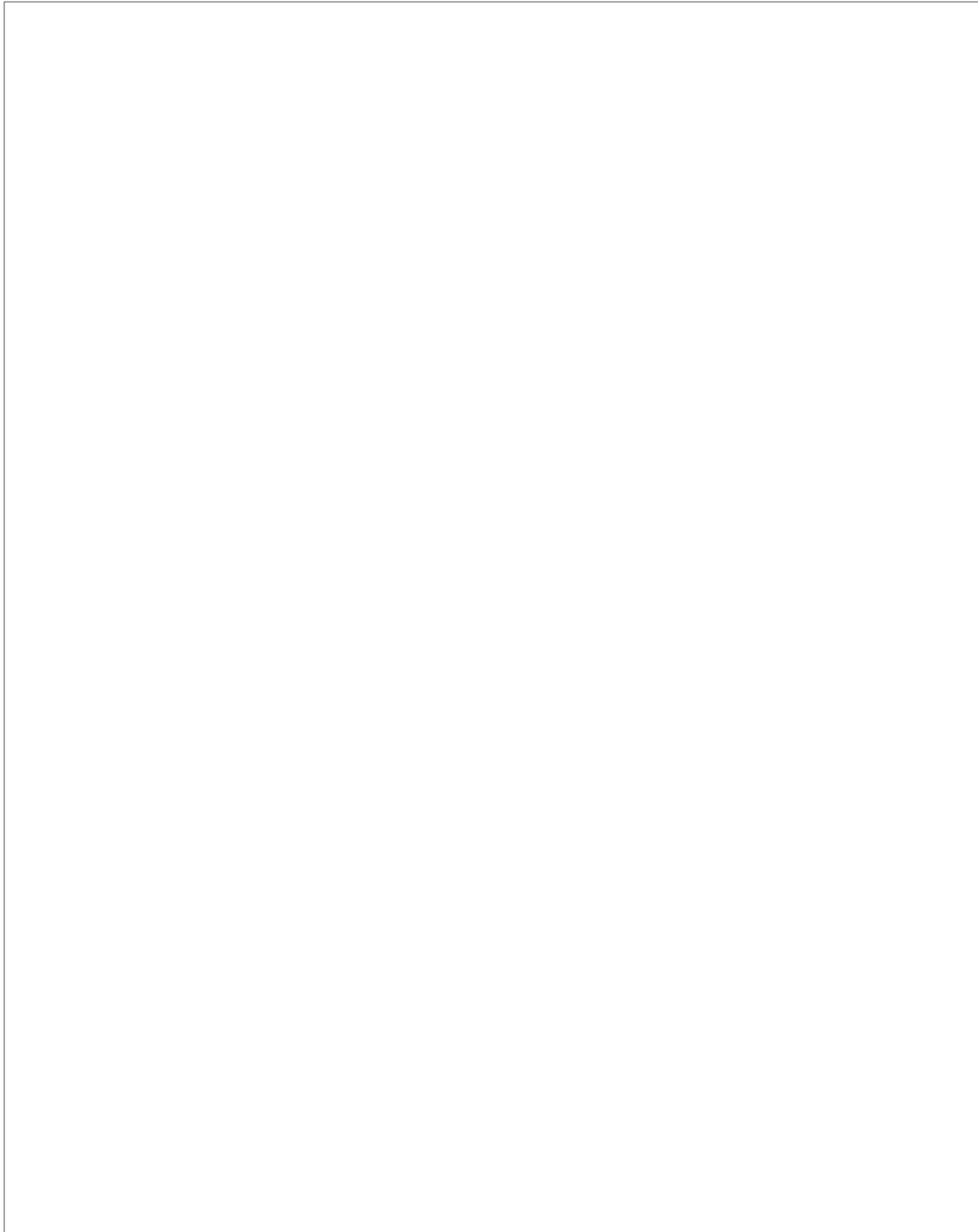
Traditionalists, who probably sense their loss of influence in Afghanistan, will continue to play on fears in the West of a fundamentalist takeover of Afghanistan in seeking support in their struggle against the Islamists. Relations between Westerners and Afghans in Peshawar are likely to be increasingly tense, particularly if donor assistance declines.

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~~Top Secret~~**Final Bulgarian Election Results**

	Number of Seats			Percentage of Total Seats *
	First Round Results	Runoff Results	Total	
Bulgarian Socialist Party (Communists)	172	39	211	53
Union of Democratic Forces	107	37	144	36
Rights and Freedoms Movement (pro-Muslim party)	21	2	23	6
Agrarian Party	16	0	16	4
Nationalist parties	1	2	3	1
Independents and other parties	2	1	3	1

* Total does not add because of rounding.

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BULGARIA: Communists Win Majority

The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) will use its slim majority in the new legislature to try to form a government; in the highly polarized political environment, any government is likely to be weak. The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) is refusing to join a coalition government, but BSP leaders recently said that they would consider a UDF proposal for a government of technocrats. The legislature probably will invalidate election results in some constituencies where intimidation and other irregularities have been reported, according to the Central Electoral Commission, but the BSP majority is likely to hold up. Meanwhile, weeklong student strikes protesting the Communist victory and election irregularities continue in several cities.

Comment: If the UDF sticks to its refusal to join a Communist-led coalition, the BSP probably will opt for a government of experts as its best chance to resolve intense debates over key constitutional issues, such as minority rights, depoliticization of the bureaucracy, and privatization. Demands by the representatives of the large contingent of ethnic Turks will fuel nationalist confrontations, perhaps violent, and divert attention from other important reform legislation.

USSR: Lithuanians Debating Independence Moratorium

Lithuanian parliament commissions yesterday began to discuss the republic Council of Ministers' call on Saturday for a moratorium on the independence declaration and associated acts, according to TASS. Lithuanian President Landsbergis told TASS yesterday that the proposal was potentially acceptable as a formula but indicated that it would be at least a few days before it was discussed by the entire legislature. Lithuanian radio reported yesterday that representatives of the Vilnius branch of Sajudis, the nationalist umbrella group whose supporters dominate the republic legislature, have rejected the possibility of changing the declaration and that opposition to the Council's proposal is growing among Lithuanian legislators.

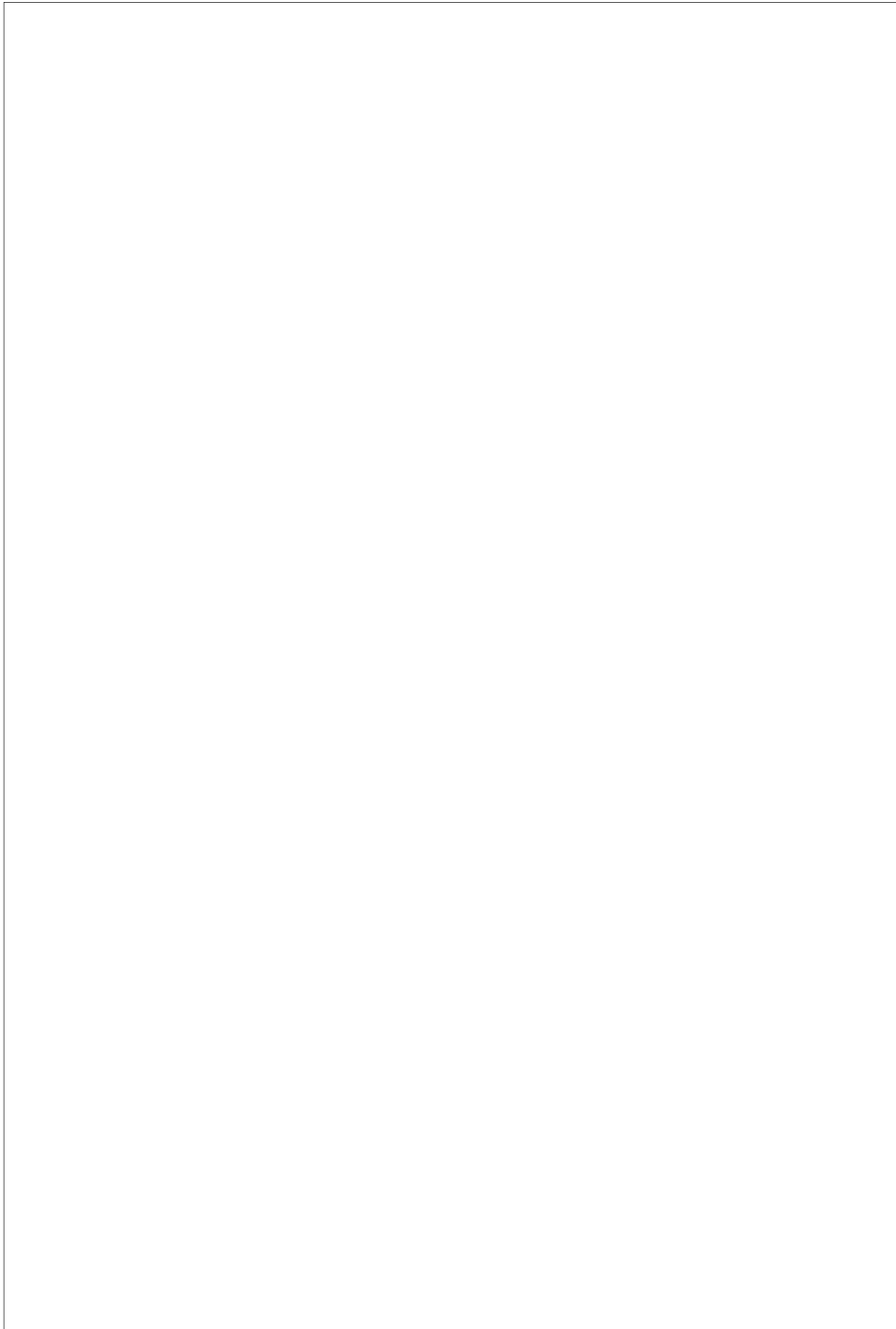
Comment: Landsbergis and other legislative leaders probably will want guarantees from President Gorbachev of what Lithuania will get in return for a moratorium before bringing the proposal to a vote. Opposition to the proposal from leaders of the Vilnius branch of Sajudis—who tend to be less radical than their counterparts outside the city—suggests that, without solid assurances from Moscow and Landsbergis's support, the proposal will be defeated in the legislature.

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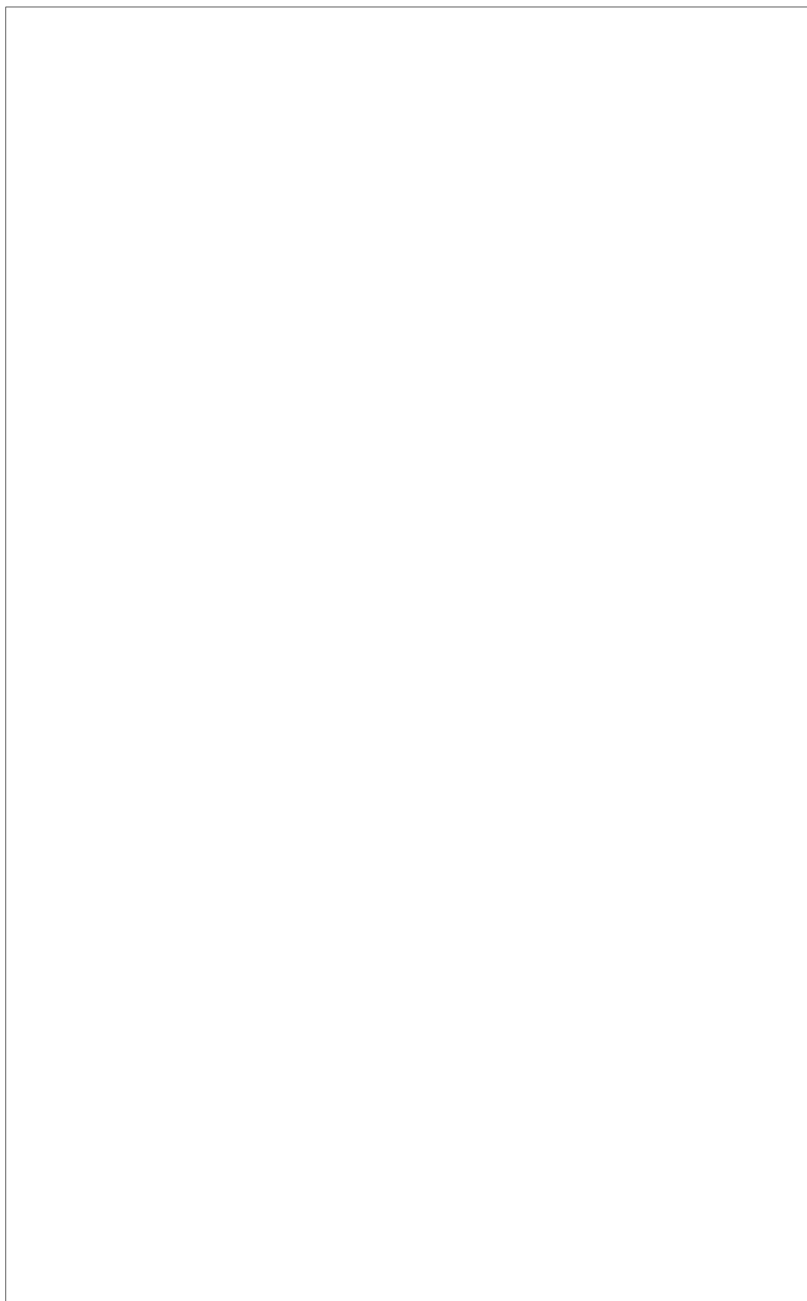


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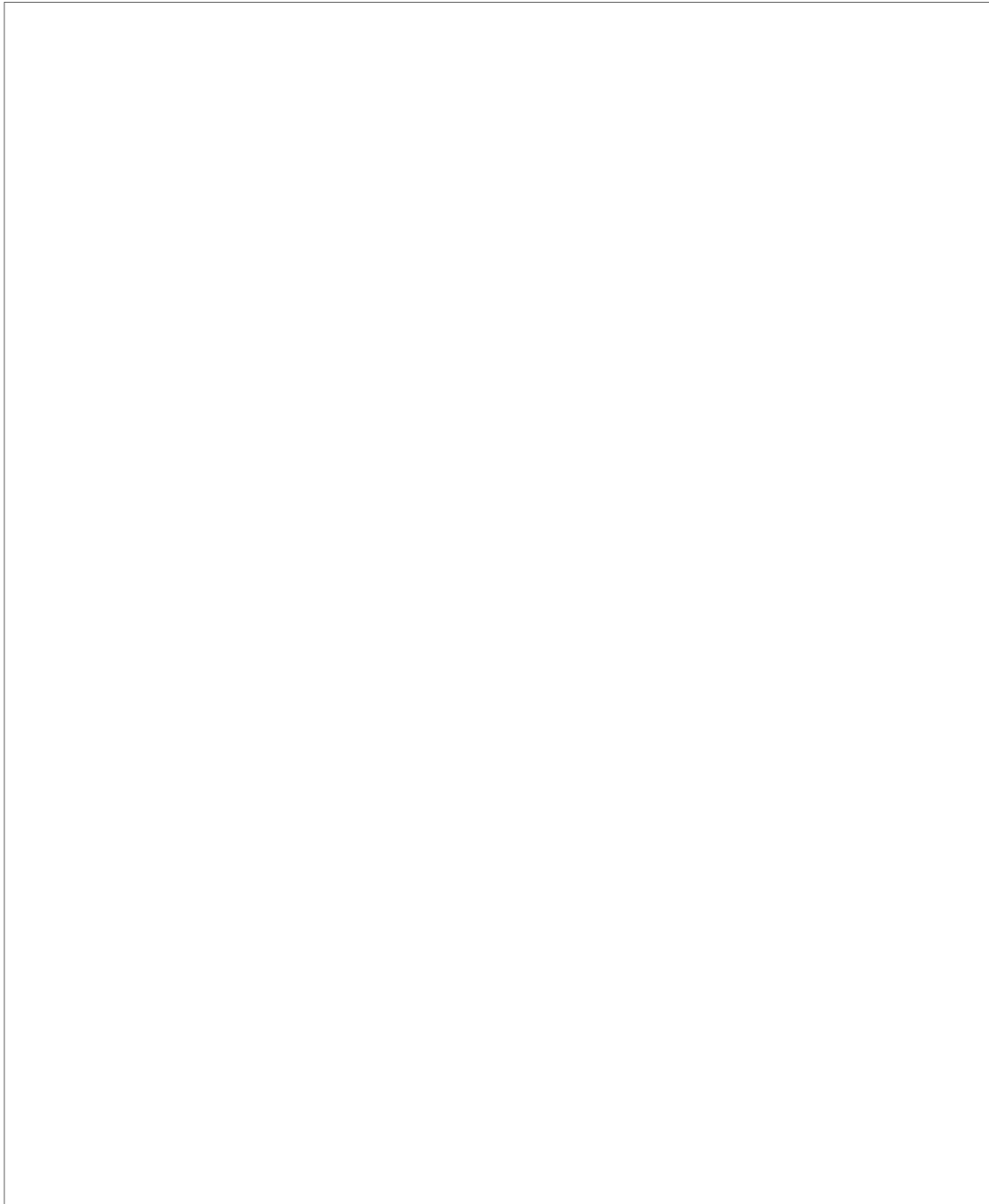


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In Brief

Middle East

— Israeli Prime Minister Shamir told reporters UN Secretary General's emissary arrives today for factfinding mission on occupied territories . . . Shamir seeking low-cost response to US pressure for movement on peace.

— Iraqi President Saddam Husayn in Sanaa over weekend, gave Yemen \$50 million for balance-of-payments support, according to press reports . . . Baghdad continuing attempts to expand influence in region.

South Asia

— In Pakistan yesterday Kashmiri leader Amanullah Khan declared Jammu, Kashmir independent, named provisional government . . . Islamabad's reluctance to curb militancy in Pakistan may threaten talks with India set for next month.

Americas

— Ecuador's center-left ruling party reportedly lost control of congress to center-right, populist parties in midterm election Sunday . . . congress likely to call cabinet ministers on carpet, hamstringing President Borja's agenda.

Europe

— Finland named first woman Defense Minister Wednesday: Elisabeth Rehn, member of Swedish People's Party . . . lacks defense experience . . . pro-US, conservative; expected to hold line on defense budget.

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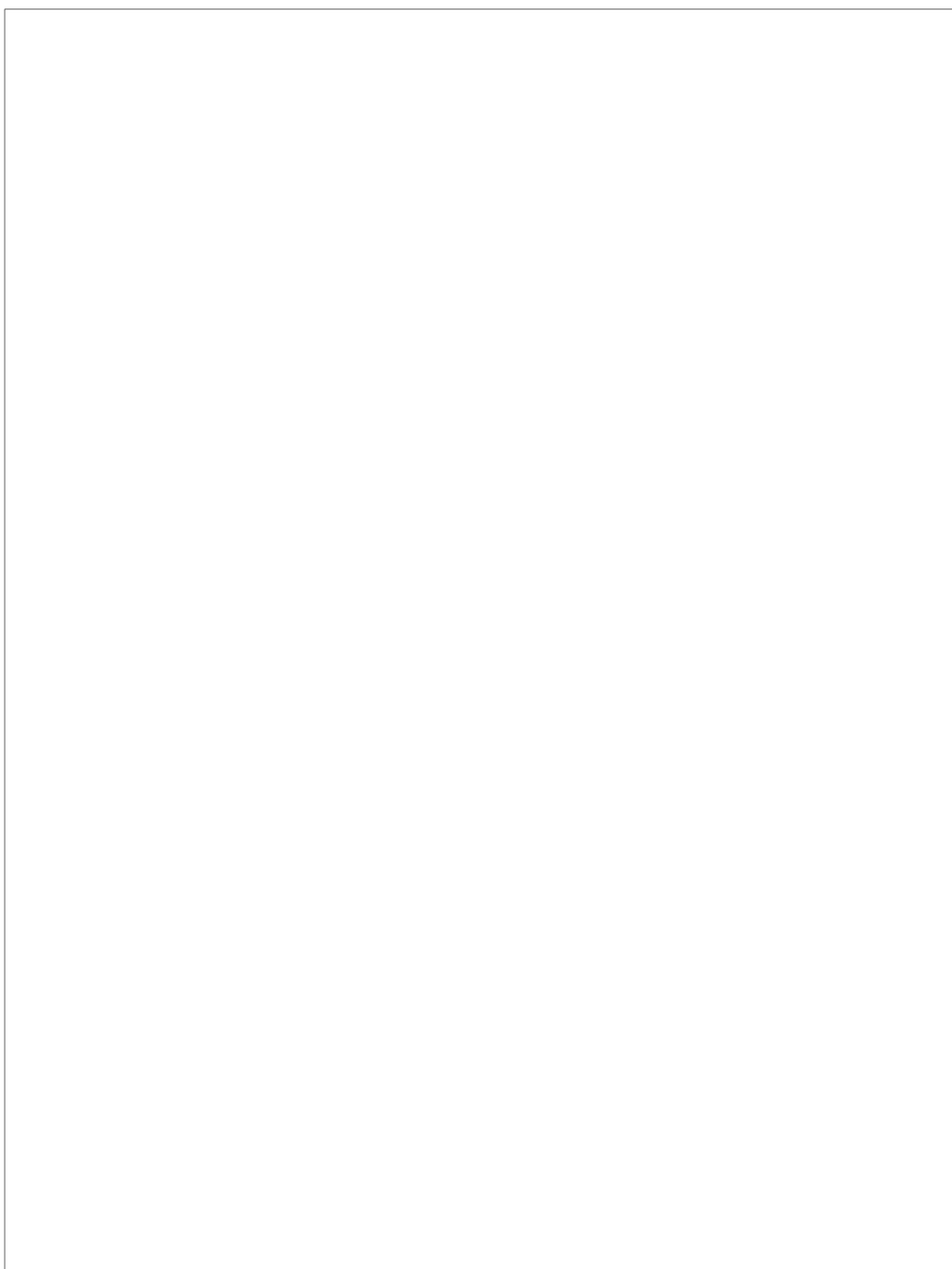
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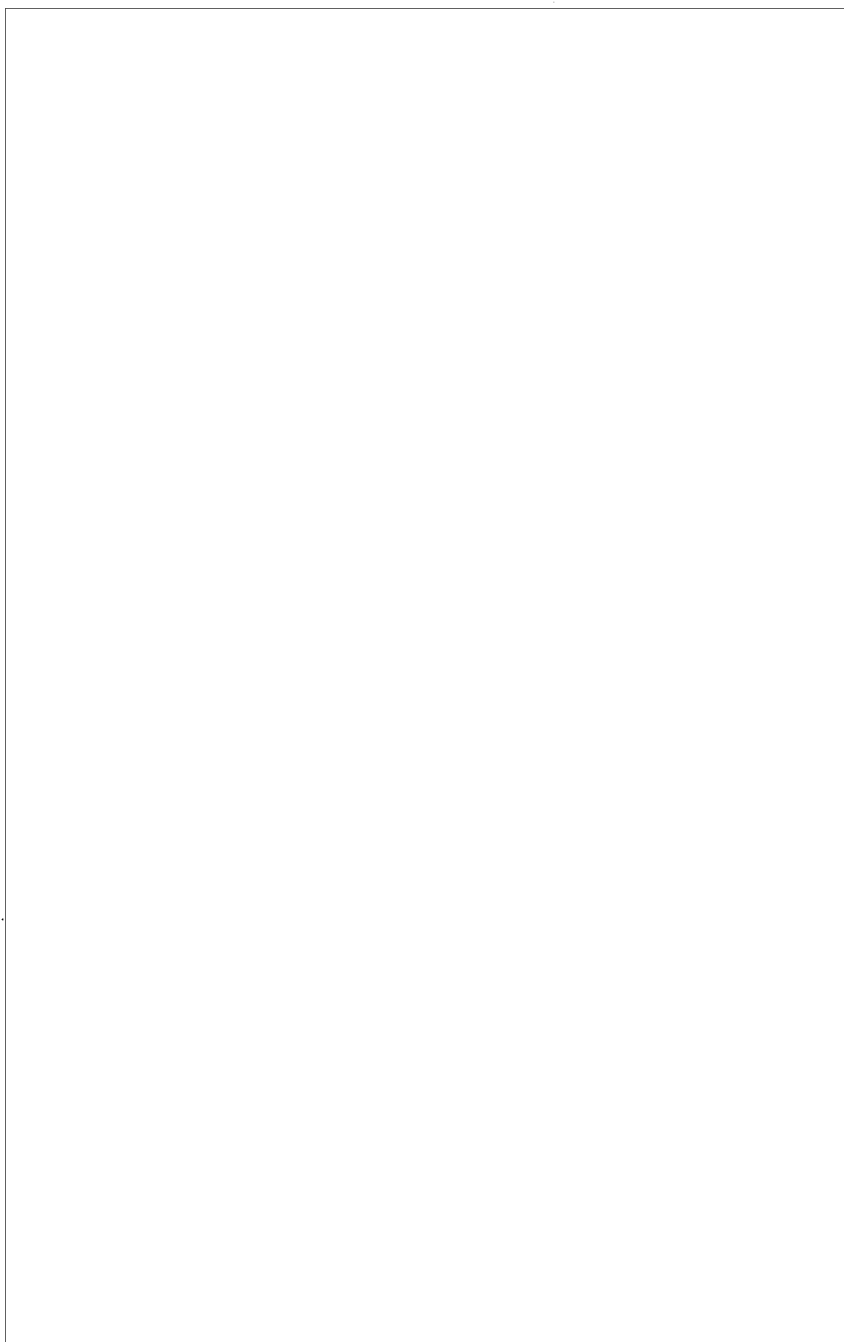


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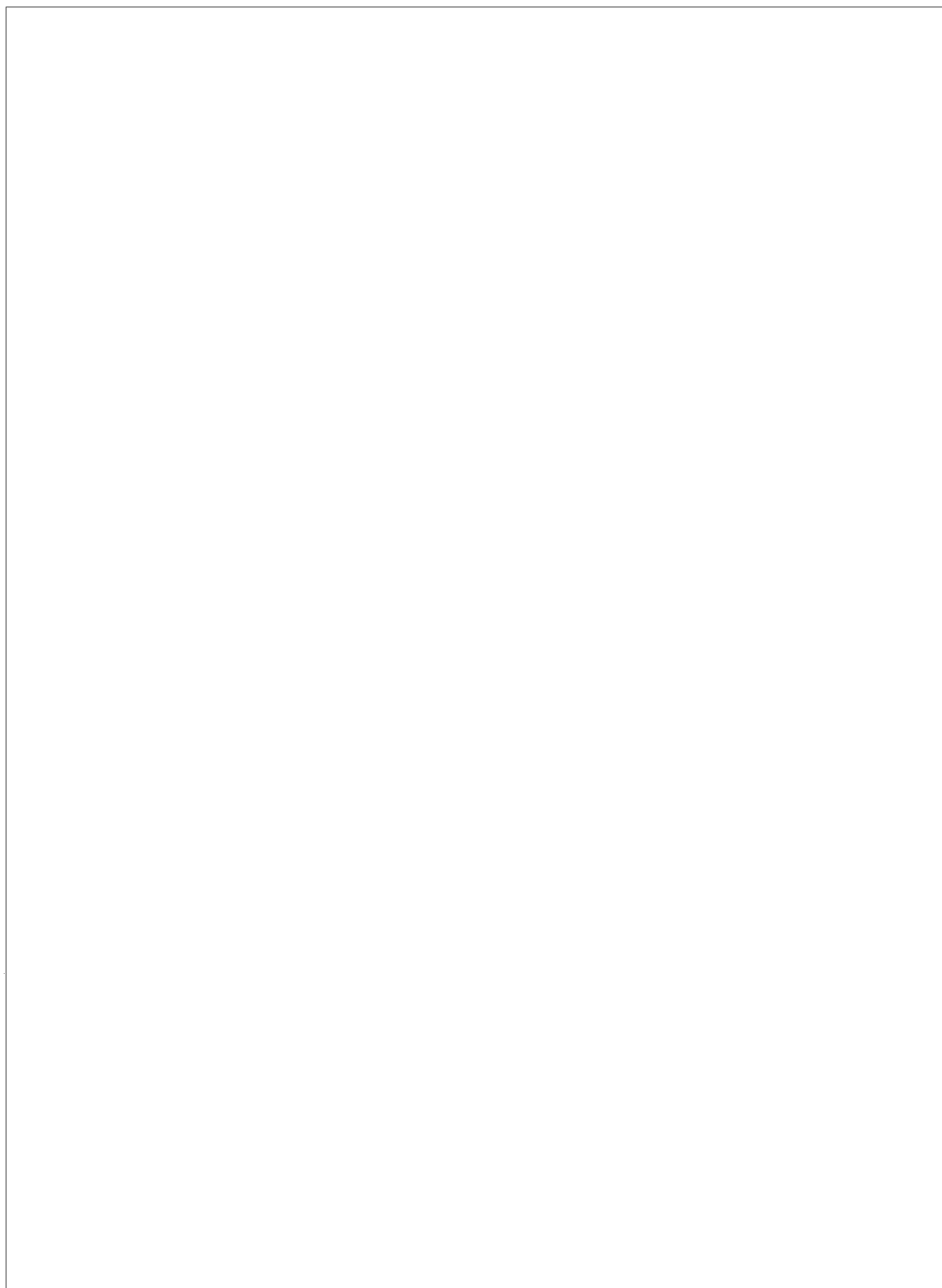


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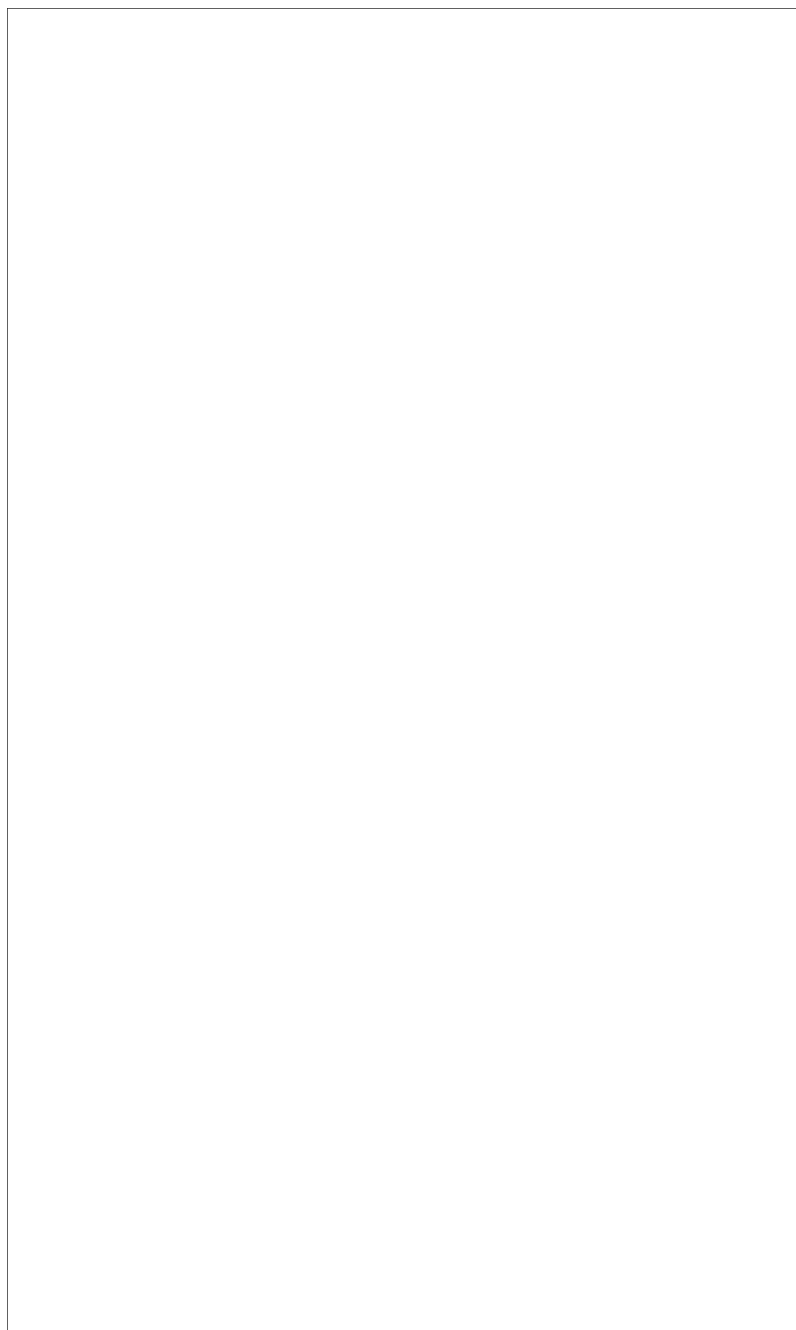


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Special Analysis

FRANCE-AFRICA: Ties Strained as Summit Opens

President Mitterrand will claim Paris will take to heart Africa's economic and security needs at the Franco-African summit in France today, but economic constraints, competing European interests, and domestic criticism of the government's Africa policy point to weakening ties.

Paris is reappraising its African policy to protect its interests while reassuring African leaders that France's commitment to the EC's single internal market in 1992 will not undercut development and private investment in Africa. As a gesture of support, Mitterrand is likely to offer four African countries partial forgiveness of more than \$2 billion in bilateral debt, which is largely uncollectable. Paris forgave the poorest countries' debt last year.

Paris may reduce its overall economic assistance by making aid conditional on political reform. Paris believes democratization in Africa would provide a more stable environment for French investments and is certain to appeal to the IMF for an approach to debt repayment that will encourage reforms in such states as Benin, Gabon, and Ivory Coast. Unprecedented popular demand for political freedom has rocked much of Francophone Africa recently, and the failure of such prominent African leaders as Ivory Coast's Houphouet-Boigny and Zaire's Mobutu to attend the summit probably stems from political problems at home.

Domestic critics have accused the government of using French forces to prop up corrupt, dictatorial regimes. Paris probably will urge the US to play a larger role in promoting pro-Western policies in Africa and to fill the assistance gaps, although it will watch Washington closely to see that US moves do not conflict with French policies and commercial interests.

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